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# THE LITERATURE OF THE PEACE MOVEMENT

By EDWIN D. MEAD

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THE Bishop of Hereford, who came to the United States in 1904 to attend the International Peace Congress in Boston, has been emphasizing in England in addresses since that time the importance of the contributions of the United States to the peace movement. He has said that the United States itself is, in his judgment, the greatest and most influential peace society in the world, because it illustrates over a broader area and with greater power than is anywhere else the case the beneficent operation of the three great principles of interstate free trade, an interstate court, and federation, which are all that is necessary to extend to international affairs to give us precisely the kind of organized world that we want. He has also been telling his English brethren that he counts it a capital misfortune that they are not more familiar than most of them are with the writings of Sumner and Channing and the other great leaders of the peace movement in the United States during the last century. We in America know too well that this unfortunate unfamiliarity is not confined to Englishmen.

In discussing for the readers of *The Chautauquan* the literature of the peace movement, and in commending to them the best books to read, there is really no better place to begin than with the considerations and the books which the honored Bishop of Hereford, the ablest and most influential champion of the cause among English churchmen, commends to his English friends. It would be hard to name two books devoted to the peace cause which state the general case better than Sumner's "Addresses on War" and Channing's "Discourses on War," the two American volumes which the Bishop of Hereford refers to most conspicuously. Sumner's addresses especially, although the most of them were given more than half a century ago, remain to-day the most powerful impeachment of the war system, the most persuasive plea for international justice, and the

most impressive history of the peace movement, which we have in equally brief compass. The volume of Sumner published in the International Library, which brings his peace addresses together, contains three of these addresses. The first was his Fourth of July oration in Boston in 1845, on "The True Grandeur of Nations"; the second was the address delivered four years later upon "The Abolition of the War System in the Commonwealth of Nations," — an address which, while not so famous as the earlier address, is in many respects a more thorough and illuminating study; and the third is the address which he gave in many places in 1870 upon "The Duel between France and Germany," tracing the history and decay of the duel between individuals in civilization, and showing how war is the duel between nations, having much the same history, being grounded in similar prejudices and false ideas of honor, and destined similarly to pass away before the development of the spirit and institutions of justice. The student who masters these three memorable addresses will find himself at the heart of the peace movement, with its history well outlined and its problems clearly defined.

Channing's "Discourses on War" represent the highest position which has been taken by the American pulpit in this great crusade; and there is nothing which the ministers and members of Christian churches can more profitably read as declaring the right attitude of religious men concerning peace and war. They were the first noteworthy discourses upon the subject in our pulpit; and they have a further historical interest in the fact that it was in Channing's study in Boston, in the Christmas week of 1815, that the Massachusetts Peace Society was organized, Channing standing side by side with Noah Worcester in the organization in its early years. One of the addresses included in the Channing volume published in the International Library is the tribute to the memory of Worcester. All of the discourses are informed by the clear and resolute thinking, moral fervor, and definite application of conscience to public affairs which inspired Channing's utterances in every field of social and religious life.

If the Christian Church and its ministers in America, as in the rest of the world, have not always done their duty as concerns war and the military spirit when the nation has been under temptation, but have too often followed the multitude to do evil, and have condoned and whitewashed wrong when wrong became dominant and fashionable, many of the ablest and most influential leaders in the

movement for international justice have still been men in the pulpit. One can never forget such sermons as those of Theodore Parker, such essays as Bushnell's on "The Growth of Law," or such addresses as that by Reuben Thomas (published by the American Peace Society) upon "The War System in the Light of Civilization and Religion." The late Edward Everett Hale has been in recent years the Nestor of the peace cause in America; and the students of the peace movement must not neglect his writings and general advice in behalf of arbitration and the better organization of the world. I think it was he who first said that the time was near when a nation which had a Secretary of War and no Secretary of Peace would not be considered fit for civilized society; and I think that it was his church which first organized a department of international justice as one of its regular instrumentalities. If I were to name the man in the American pulpit to-day who seems to me the Channing of the movement with us, it would be Charles E. Jefferson of the Broadway Tabernacle in New York. The learning, penetration, sharp exposure of fallacy, prophetic statesmanship, and religious uplift of his pulpit utterances and published papers upon peace and war during the last half-dozen years have been noteworthy indeed. All religious men should help extend their influence; and here they are commended to students of the movement at this hour. No one has more searchingly exposed the weakness and absurdity of the frequent claim that great armaments tend to preserve the peace, and no one has pointed out with greater power the constant and dangerous menace, especially to a republic, of a large professional military class. Mr. Jefferson's article, "The Delusion of Militarism," in the March number of the *Atlantic Monthly*, since reprinted in pamphlet form, well illustrates his pungency and power.

We must never forget the religious origin of the peace movement. As a distinctly organized movement, it began here in America, and began with Christian men. The first peace society in the world was the New York Peace Society, founded in the summer of 1815, by David Low Dodge; and membership in the Christian Church was a condition of membership in that first Peace Society. We should doubtless all agree in accounting this an unwise condition; but it is indicative of the sacred character which those men attached to their cause. The Massachusetts Peace Society was founded at the end of the same year, 1815, by Worcester and Channing, both of them Christian ministers. Both Dodge and Worcester had before this

published arraignments of the war system. Dodge's "War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ" has been recently republished, with a biographical introduction, in the International Library; and Worcester's famous old pamphlet of 1814, "A Solemn Review of the Custom of War," which had an immense circulation and exerted a profound influence in its day, may be obtained for a few cents from the American Peace Society.

These two famous works by Dodge and Worcester are the early classics of the peace movement in America; and while Dodge's work is old-fashioned in its style and method, and both works lack that emphasis upon international organization which we find a little later in William Ladd and which finally created the Hague Conferences, it is surprising how modern they are in much, and how complete their impeachment still remains of the folly, waste, and wickedness of the war system. The most powerful recent impeachment of the system upon these grounds is Rev. Walter Walsh's "Moral Damage of War," an impassioned, but also most detailed and definite, work, first called out in Great Britain by the Boer War, but as salutary and necessary for Americans as for Englishmen to read. A passionate exposure of the war system of a quite different character but equally impressive is the famous story, "Lay Down Your Arms," by the Baroness von Suttner.

Immanuel Kant, in his great tractate on "Eternal Peace," published in 1795, just after the launching of the American republic, declared that universal peace and consequent disarmament would come, and come only, with universal self-government; because he believed that justice could come only with freedom, and peace only with justice. In view of this association, which I think is valid, of peace and international justice with free institutions, it was no accident by which the organized peace movement began in this republic. The Bishop of Hereford's judgment had historical as well as other grounds. It was not accidental, but logical, that the great founders of the republic, Washington and Franklin and Jefferson, should be conspicuous champions in their time of peace principles and international fraternity. Their utterances on this subject were memorable, and we do not recur to them half often enough. In my little work on "The Principles of the Founders," originally the Fourth of July address in Boston in 1903, I brought together many of these impressive utterances; and as I do not know of any other place where they



are so easily accessible, I may be pardoned for referring to this. The words of Franklin — who went so far as to declare that “there never was a good war nor a bad peace” — were the most important of these; and these words are brought together more fully, I think completely, in one of the Old South Leaflets (No. 162), “Franklin on War and Peace.”

This is a fitting place to say that several of the Old South Leaflets are devoted to subjects relating to the history of the peace movement, among them being The First Book of Dante’s “Monarchia,” The Introduction of Grotius’s “Rights of War and Peace,” William Penn’s “Plan for the Peace of Europe,” Elihu Burritt’s “Address on a Congress of Nations,” and The Hague Arbitration Convention of 1899. These leaflets are accompanied by careful historical and bibliographical notes; and as their cost is merely nominal, they are calculated to be of service to many.\*

I once gave a course of lectures to the Boston teachers at the Old South Meetinghouse on “Men who have worked to organize the World,” with the following several themes: Dante’s Dream of a Universal Empire, Henry the Fourth and “The Great Design,” Hugo Grotius and “The Rights of War and Peace,” William Penn’s Plan for the Peace of Europe, Immanuel Kant’s “Eternal Peace,” Charles Sumner and “The True Grandeur of Nations,” and the Peace Conference at The Hague. It will be noted that this survey covers six centuries and representatives of six nations, witnessing to the fact that from the time of the first modern man, if we agree to call Dante that, to our time, prophetic men have been rising in successive centuries and in every land to preach the gospel of a united world, which gospel at last in our own day the Hague Conferences are reducing to law. Sumner’s learned and powerful addresses, to which I have referred, present all of these great pioneers in their true places and relations. Greatest and most influential of all in the peace movement was Hugo Grotius, who in his monumental work upon “The Rights of War and Peace” — of which Andrew D. White well said, in his pregnant address at Delft at the time of the

\* The Old South Leaflets, which are sold for five cents each, are published by the Directors of the Old South Work, Old South Meetinghouse, Boston. The International Library, frequently referred to here, the most important series of peace works, is published by Messrs. Ginn and Company, Boston, for the International School of Peace.

First Hague Conference, that "of all works not claiming divine inspiration that book has proved the greatest blessing to humanity" — founded the science of international law. For the ordinary student of the peace movement, the Introduction to this great work, reprinted in the leaflet mentioned above, will be sufficient; the more thorough student wishing to go further will find Whewell's translation the best.

It is an interesting coincidence by which the great founder of the science of international law was a native of the land, so heroic during his own lifetime in the struggle for freedom, in which two centuries and a half after his death was to meet the first of those momentous Hague Conferences — forerunners of the real "Parliament of Man," if not indeed themselves to be regarded as the first sessions of that Parliament — which have advanced in a measure not less than revolutionary the two great ends for which he labored, the amelioration of the cruelties of war and the promotion of international arbitration.

The literature of the peace movement in America for the seventy years following the founding by William Ladd in 1828 of the American Peace Society, in which the then existing local societies were merged, is interesting chiefly for its constant and remarkable anticipations of the Hague Conferences. Dr. Trueblood, the present secretary of the American Peace Society, has rightly said of William Ladd that he was "the man who saw most clearly the ripeness of the time and felt the necessity of bringing into coöperation all the scattered forces that had begun to work for the peace of the world — a man who will one day be everywhere reckoned among the foremost of the creators of civilization"; and James Brown Scott, one of the members of our American delegation at the Second Hague Conference, has said that all of the cardinal features of the Hague programme were fully and powerfully formulated by William Ladd sixty years before. Ladd's remarkable chapter in the volume of "Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations," published by the American Peace Society in 1840, should be consulted. The addresses of Elihu Burritt, above referred to, at the International Peace Congresses at Brussels and Paris in 1848 and 1849, repeat the great demands of William Ladd, — for a Congress of Nations, which should develop and codify international law and create an International Court to apply it. This was precisely, as will be recognized, the programme and problem of the Hague Conferences of 1899 and



1907; and it was popularly spoken of in Europe in the days of Ladd and Burritt as "the American plan."

The thought of supplanting war by arbitration and of constructive measures for the better organization of the world was by no means confined, in the long period between Dante's "Monarchia" and the call for the first Hague Conference, to the few great thinkers mentioned above. These names are only representative. Dr. W. Evans Darby, the secretary of the English Peace Society, has prepared a large volume entitled "International Tribunals," which is a collection of the various schemes which have been propounded through the centuries. The work is a monument of critical and painstaking research, and is made more valuable by the complete list and account which it contains of all the treaties or cases of international arbitration, beginning with the Jay treaty of 1794. The writings of Dr. Darby's predecessor, Henry Richard, hold a high place in the history of the peace movement in England. Two recent English books should be warmly commended: John A. Hobson's "Imperialism," which is the most searching survey known to me of those commercial tendencies and temptations which are the chief causes of war in our time; and Francis W. Hirst's "The Arbiter in Council," which in a singularly skillful and cogent manner, in the form of a seven days' discussion by a group of friends, considers the present great international issues. A Washington friend recently wrote me that he distributed twenty copies of this impressive work as Christmas presents. He could not well have done better. There is no better English book on the subject. It is all the better because there is so much of the inspiration of Cobden in it. Of all Englishmen who have served the peace cause, Richard Cobden was the most powerful and most influential; and his economic arguments have special force to-day. The careful student will not fail to read the speeches and essays on peace and war in the four volumes of his published works; and those who have not time for this should at least read John Morley's *Life of Cobden*.

I make slight reference here to books not written in English, for I assume that most of my readers read only English. The peace literature of all the leading European nations is of great extent and value; and the most important existing bibliography of the movement is that prepared by Senator Henri Lafontaine of Belgium, the present president of the International Peace Bureau at Berne.

I have said that Grotius's "Rights of War and Peace" was the greatest single contribution to the movement for international justice. From Grotius's time to ours no other work has struck so powerful a blow at the war system as Jean de Bloch's "Future of War." As the result of almost unexampled research into present world conditions, Bloch, with powerful reasoning, brought home to the governments and peoples of Europe the bankruptcy and ruin to which they were hastening if the present system of war and crushing armaments were not supplanted by the legal and rational settlement of international differences. His startling work, published in 1897, was undoubtedly one of the promptings to the call of the First Hague Conference by the Czar of Russia the next year. The whole of this great six-volume work has never been translated into English; but the essential part of it is published in one volume in the International Library.\*

With the Hague Conference there opens an entirely new era in the peace movement. The nations have at last definitely and officially undertaken the task of organizing the world. The movement in the last ten years has described a course essentially like that described by the anti-slavery movement in the United States in the decade between 1850 and 1860. That movement for a generation had been a great moral movement; but because the evil which it confronted was so monstrous and menacing, it inevitably became a political movement—and won. Never did the slave power seem so arrogant or strong as in 1852, at the beginning of its end. Never was the big navy craze, with its attendant extravagances, so monstrous and seemingly strong as at this hour. Yet the great armaments are doomed. The present Anglo-German situation is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the common silly argument that the way to insure peace is to multiply battleships. Every new *Dreadnaught* added to either the German or British navy is found to be, so far from a new bond of peace, a new occasion of friction and danger; and men are waking everywhere to the perception that all the monstrous navies are more a provocation than a defense, and that courts must take the place of armaments. The peace movement has become political; and 2500 members of the parliaments of the various nations are now leagued together in the Interparliamentary Union, coöperating in those measures which shall gradually supplant war by law.

\* A pamphlet by the present writer upon Bloch and "The Future of War" can be procured from the American Peace Society.

Dr. Trueblood's "Federation of the World" treats the long and varied efforts of the past distinctly as leading up to the culmination at The Hague. Hon. John W. Foster's "Arbitration and the Hague Court" is a manual of the arbitration movement informed by the same spirit. Bridgman's "World Organization" is an impressive showing of the remarkable advance already actually made in the development of an international constitution, with judicial, legislative, and executive features. If there be among my readers some who have time now but for two books among the many mentioned here, let the two be Sumner and Bridgman.

The history of the First Hague Conference was written for American readers by Frederick W. Hollis, the secretary of the American delegation; and the section relating to this Conference in Andrew D. White's autobiography should not be neglected. An admirable work upon "The Two Hague Conferences" by Professor William I. Hull has recently been published in the International Library; and this is the best work for the general reader. Professor James Brown Scott has brought together in a handsome volume the "Texts of the Peace Conferences at The Hague," including all of the conventions and related official documents, constituting an invaluable book of reference for the careful student. Among the valuable pamphlets published by the Association for International Conciliation are two upon the Work of the Second Hague Conference, by Baron d'Estournelles, Hon. David Jayne Hill, and James Brown Scott; and these will be valued both by those who have not and those who have time for the larger works.

A body of literature becoming every year richer and of greater moment is that made up of the reports of the important Peace Congresses and of the meetings of the Interparliamentary Union,—which latter is undoubtedly the strongest organized force working to-day for the supplanting of war by arbitration and justice. The American Peace Society furnishes at trifling cost the reports of the two International Peace Congresses which have up to this date met in the United States,—the Chicago Congress of 1893 and the Boston Congress of 1904; as also the larger and more costly report of our first National Peace Congress, the New York Congress of 1907, which was undoubtedly the largest peace demonstration yet seen in the world. The reports of the two memorable Conferences on International Arbitration held at Washington in 1896 and 1904 are of high

importance, but now unfortunately to be found only in the large libraries. The annual reports of the Lake Mohonk Conferences on International Arbitration (that of 1908 was the fourteenth) constitute a veritable library of information and vital thought upon this great cause; and these reports are generously furnished to students of the movement.

The American Society of International Law was initiated at Mohonk four years ago; and its able *Journal of International Law* is rich in articles of the highest value for every man concerned in the progress of world organization. At Mohonk, also, strong impulse was given to the movement for the notable new work for peace in our schools and colleges, which already has a considerable literature. The yearbooks of the federation of the Cosmopolitan Clubs which are multiplying so rapidly in our colleges and universities are big with promise. The new American School Peace League has rapidly advanced to a position of remarkable usefulness and significance; and every teacher in the country should have its little manual, which may be had for the asking from the secretary, Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston. Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead's "Patriotism and the New Internationalism" is a manual for teachers, prepared especially to help in arranging programmes for the observance of the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the First Hague Conference, now, with the indorsement of the National Educational Association and the Association of School Superintendents, becoming so common in the schools. Mrs. Mead's compact little "Primer of the Peace Movement" is of service not only for teachers but for everybody else desiring to learn at a glance what the movement is, what it has already achieved, and what it is aiming at.

Nothing is more important here than to show the young people in the schools how our great American poets — Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, Holmes — have all been prophets of this great cause. Their inspired lines in its behalf constitute a precious section of the literature of the movement.

The remarkable deepening of devotion to the peace movement in the last ten years has given birth to many books touching special aspects of the cause with noteworthy penetration and power, which works cannot here be even enumerated. David Star Jordan's "Blood of the Nation" and "The Human Harvest" reveal the frightful and paralyzing drain of the war system upon all the best forces and resources of mankind. Jane Addams's "Newer Ideals of Peace" shows

how intricately involved are the problems of militarism with the pressing industrial problems which now everywhere confront the world.

Much of the literature of the international movement which is really of most practical and immediate value to many people is not in the form of books at all, but in pamphlets and brief leaflets. I have referred to certain pamphlets on the Second Hague Conference, published by the Association for International Conciliation. This is an organization founded by Baron d'Estournelles de Constant of France. President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University is the head of the American branch of the Association. The pamphlet publications of the latter are invaluable, already extensive, and rapidly multiplying; and these pamphlets and lists of them are sent freely to all persons applying to the secretary of the Association (Substation 84, New York City). Andrew Carnegie's address on "A League of Peace," bringing out with power how, as the commanding cause of the preceding time was the war against slavery, the commanding cause of our time is the war against war, has had a circulation of hundreds of thousands. The American Peace Society publishes a great wealth of pamphlets on the Cost of War, the Limitation of Armaments, the Fallacies of Militarism, Reason why our Navy should not be Enlarged, the Truth about Japan, the Interparliamentary Union and its Work, the History of the Peace Movement in America, the Organization of the World, etc.,—about which readers can learn in the pages of *The Advocate of Peace*, the able monthly journal of the Society,

And this suggests my last word. It is that everybody who is really in earnest about this most commanding cause of our time, everybody who really desires to keep informed about its progress and its literature, should join the American Peace Society (31 Beacon Street, Boston; there is a merely nominal fee of one dollar), if only for the sake of regularly receiving its journal. For here one will learn month by month of the latest things done for the cause the world over, of the significant debates and official actions at Washington and London and Paris and Berlin, of the programmes and proceedings of congresses and conventions, of every strong new speech or article or pamphlet or book. This in a movement so vital and political as the peace movement is imperative. It is important indeed for the student of the movement to go into the library; but it is most essential for him to keep in touch with the situation at the present hour.

# The International Library

Edited by Edwin D. Mead

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